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## LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT'S DESK

Since my last letter from the President's Desk, I have been busy in Turkey on the new expedition to Sardis which I have mentioned several times in previous letters. The expedition was very successful and I think the Schools can be and will be proud that it was conducted under their auspices. The details have been given to you in newsletters and a preliminary report will appear in the BULLETIN in the near future. However, I should like to say here, though briefly, that the two main purposes of the expedition were fulfilled.

The first was to survey and record some of the standing monuments that have been exposed to view for many centuries, while the second was to try to locate some trace of the Lydians. We began the survey of two of the buildings and just before leaving we found very definite traces of the Lydian civilization about which we know so little. More details will appear, as I said, in preliminary reports, but I can say here that the prospect for the next two years looks very, very good, at least as far as archaeology is concerned.

Of course, living in the Near East this summer was scarcely a picnic, though Turkey was one of the more peaceful parts of the world. I have been on expeditions in Iraq, Syria and Jordan, but to be working in Turkey was a new experience for me. The Turks made very good workmen; education is getting down among the lower ranks of society in Turkey and it was amazing to find out how many of our workmen had more than a little idea about what we were doing. They were aware of the sequence of civilizations and were just as excited about the discovery of the Lydian city as we were. It does make it pleasant when the workmen can be treated more like associates than as plain laborers. They were a good lot and I am looking forward to returning to them in the future.

On my way back from Turkey I stopped off in Rome to attend the Seventh International Congress of Classical Archaeologists as a representative of the American Schools. This, too, was a new experience to me, for though I have attended many scholarly meetings in this country, an international affair was something different. As you know from experience, at such meetings in America fifteen-minute papers last twenty minutes and twenty-minute papers last a half hour. But at an international congress a fifteen-minute paper takes an hour and a half-hour paper two. It is in part a matter of competition among the various national groups, and then, too, it is difficult for a chairman to assert his authority, particularly if he has to speak to someone in a tongue foreign to his own or in one that the speaker does not understand. We did not have the benefit of any of these translating devices used by the United Nations. Nevertheless, the whole affair was very worthwhile, for we had some good papers and most interesting field trips. Our Italian hosts outdid themselves in arranging for tours in and around Rome and Naples. Indeed, it might be impossible to duplicate these field trips elsewhere though there are still many opportunities in France, where we hope to meet five years from now. We were received by the Italian government, by the city of Rome and by the city of Naples. The country was at its best, with the weather not too hot. All in all, it was a wonderful experience meeting so many of the people I have heard of and read about over the years.

Business of the School was carried on very ably by Acting President William F. Albright, and by the Executive Assistant to the President, William L. Reed. The two chairmen of the Committees of the Baghdad School and the Jerusalem School were fortunately in the country too, so that there was no lack of attention to details. I should also like to

express my appreciation to Mrs. Walton and Mrs. Piazza for their help in New Haven this summer as well as to my own secretary, Mrs. Otis, who kept the office running here in Ithaca.

The Jerusalem Committee is busy with plans for the future, while the Baghdad School is marking time at the moment, though it, too, has elaborate plans which are being discussed. It is good to have two such active Committees to carry on the work of the Schools.

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## THE THIRD CAMPAIGN AT BETHEL

James L. Kelso [1]

The tenth joint expedition of the American Schools of Oriental Research and the Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary was undertaken in the summer of 1957, from July 11th through August 30th. Professor James L. Kelso of the Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary was director and Professor T. M. Taylor of the same institution was assistant director. Two of their students, Mr. John W. Irwin and Mr. John W. Stewart, as well as Rev. Glen Harris of Birmingham, Michigan, were members of the staff. The Arab members of the staff were practically the same as those of the 1954 dig. Mr. Emil Abu Dayeh was liaison man with the Bethel people and foreman of the excavations, the surveyor was Mr. Subhi Muhtadi, the *formatore* was Mr. Mahfuz Nassar and the photographer was Mr. Hanna Safieh. About forty-five Beitîn men were employed. The Antiquities Department of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan under Said Bey Dura was helpful in every way. The cooperative assistant director, Dr. Awni Dajani, even put the story of the expedition on the air for the British Broadcasting Company as well as for the local Hashemite station. Dr. Dajani and the author also carried out some joint test digs in the Jericho area where each had been excavating previously.

Père R. de Vaux was, as always, a most gracious and stimulating consultant both at Beitîn and in Jerusalem, where the pottery was again studied. Professor G. E. Wright compared the Bethel pottery with that of his Shechem dig. Dr. and Mrs. Paul Lapp, who were members of his staff, were especially interested in our Hellenistic pottery.

The expedition failed to find any direct trace of Jeroboam's temple. It must lie under the built-up area of Beitîn, which occupies most of the southern half of ancient Bethel. Since some scholars have suggested that the temple was outside of the city, several of the staff and workmen looked carefully for Iron II sherds at Burj Beitîn, on the hill east of Bethel, but none was found. This ruin is a sixth-century church erected on the supposed site of Abraham's altar. Most of the sherds were Byzantine although a few belong to the transition from Early to Middle Bronze. We also investigated Khirbet el-Maqâṭir, the site of a fourth (?) century church, but spent less time here, as the site had been plundered

[1] Serious illness in the family prevented earlier publication.

to furnish stone for erecting the mosque at el-Bîreh. Not far from the latter ruin but closer to the western edge of the ridge we found what may have been an altar about one by two meters in size and bearing two cup marks. There were worked flints nearby, showing that the hill was a camp site long before Abraham's day.

The second purpose of the expedition was a study of the city's defenses and this work was highly rewarding. Both former expeditions had demonstrated that the north wall of the city must have been under the street which runs just north of Beitîn village. Digging north of that street, we uncovered the outer face of the city wall. The *mukhtâr*, Mohammed Abdullah Daher, allowed us to tear up the city street for a day at one point so as to study the top of the wall and tie it up with the new excavations which we had made to uncover the south face of this city wall.[2]

The excavations just inside the city wall fortunately uncovered a house wall built on bed rock and abutting directly on the city wall; the pottery in that room enabled us to date the city wall to an early Hyksos phase ± 1700 B. C. The north wall of the city was 3.38 m. wide and was constructed of large stones well interlocked. Portions of it remained in place about 20 meters. About 5 m. of the west section was either the outer face of a tower or a jog in the wall. A foundation course was laid on bed rock and the wall proper was set back a little distance from the face of the foundation course. Including the latter, some nine courses were still *in situ* for a height slightly over 3 m. The large exterior stones were accurately fitted into place, and the face of the wall had a slight 20 cm. batter. At the point where the inside face was uncovered the wall was laid on bed rock without a foundation course. In front of the wall was a heavy glacis with marly clay predominating in the fill against the wall, but with much more stone near the thin outer wall. The rapidly falling angle of the hill plus some Hellenistic foundations and a silo made it difficult to recognize the exact line of the thin outer wall of the glacis. The clay fill contained MB I or earlier sherds.

There appears to have been a city gate near the NE corner of the city. Here were two pavements and above the upper one a single course of the west jamb of the gateway was *in situ* with its exterior stone burned by a conflagration. The gateway showed Roman sherds, and was perhaps destroyed by Vespasian in A. D. 68. A few Hellenistic sherds in the debris of the wall just west of the gate may possibly show a Bacchides capture of the city, but the gate itself certainly continued in use until early Roman times. Unfortunately the brief time during which we were allowed to interrupt traffic prevented our finding the east jamb of the gateway.

Vespasian apparently tore down some of the wall adjacent to the city gate, for a Roman house had been built across the city wall. Unfortunately only the foundation courses of this house remained and the few sherds cannot date it any closer than to the "Roman" period. It was this Roman house, however, which saved the old Hyksos city wall, for the house was still in use when the Byzantines hastily refortified the

[2] These excavations are just north of Area I of the 1934 dig.

FIG. 1. The Early Hyksos Wall on the North Side of Bethel.

FIG. 2. Sighting along the face of the Hyksos wall shown in Fig. 1.

city against the Samaritan attacks in A. D. 484 or 529. The Hyksos wall served as a quarry where the Bethel population found ready-cut stones close at hand to use in their hasty Byzantine fortifications. The old city wall, however, remained intact under this Roman house although all the stones just west of this house were removed. Byzantine sherds in the robber trench proved that the old Hyksos wall was removed by the Byzantines.

The Byzantines built their city gate a little east of the old gate. The expedition surveyed their gateway and as much as possible of the street leading south from it that is still above ground, about 100 m. This is the oldest preserved Byzantine street in Jordan. A short stretch of Byzantine wall on the east side of the city was found incorporated into the rear wall of a house.

The eastern wall of the Old Testament city must lie under the main street in the eastern section of upper Beitîn. Excavations on each side of the street have demonstrated this, but we did not have time to tear up the street to study the wall beneath it.

Another city wall incorporated into a Beitîn house gave us a clue to one of the Old Testament walls on the west side of the city. In 1934 a city wall some distance to the north of this house was excavated and dated about 1500 B. C. Although the terrain between this house and the city wall just mentioned was very dangerous to excavate because of the massive boundary walls just above it and the steep slope of the hill itself, we were able to uncover 8 m. of a new city wall. The extreme north portion of it is apparently at least as early as the city wall on the north. Most of the wall, however, consists, of a tower built against this older wall at a point where it had been breached. This tower contained a guard room which occupied about 2.5 m. of the 6 m. thickness of the tower. The new construction was reinforced by a glacis, most of which consisted of small loose stones over which a thin facing of clay had been laid. We tried to get behind this city wall to see the pottery in the rooms against it. Even by tunneling we could reach only one room, which contained a large MB II C store jar.

The tower must be Hyksos but neither the tower nor the glacis shows as good workmanship as the north wall. Furthermore, this tower, unlike the north wall, is laid on debris. The masonry looks something like that of the western wall discovered in 1934, but more excavation is needed for definite dating. All that can be said of the later history of this wall is that the guard room contained Late Bronze pottery.

The south wall of the Old Testament city was not located, although we sank test pits in various court yards where the older population of the village reported having seen heavy walls in their youth. These walls, however, all turned out to be those of massive Roman or Byzantine buildings. Just north of the Deir Diwân road there is a spring which furnishes Beitîn with its best drinking water, although the flow of this spring is much less than that of the great spring south of the road near the mosque. Just south of the first mentioned spring we uncovered the foundations of a massive Roman tower. These foundations also extended under most of a new house which had just been erected immediately

south of our test dig. This was doubtless the city gate of the Roman period on the south side of the city but it had perhaps been built even a little earlier. Owing to the spring and nearby houses, we were unable to learn any more at this point. The sudden sharp rise of the terrain immediately behind the spring must have carried the Israelite wall, but because of the massive rock terraces there we could not excavate and one can only conjecture how the spring was incorporated into the Israelite defenses.

As the city climbed northward up the hill the bedrock was closer to the surface of the ground and the earliest buildings here are from the first Hyksos phase and contemporaneous with the building of the city wall. These house walls were destroyed almost down to their foundations and the area was occupied by a patrician house probably built in the transition between MB II B and C. Rooms lead off from a large central courtyard and there were three underground grain pits. The house had two phases of history, separated by a very heavy burning, but the architectural features are essentially the same in both phases except near the city wall. This masonry is as fine as any found in Palestine in the Hyksos period.

When the city was captured, probably by the Egyptians, the upper courses of the late Hyksos houses were destroyed. A meter or so, however, of the lower courses of the walls remained intact and a Late Bronze phase was built upon them. This LB masonry, however, was very inferior to that found in the two earlier excavations. The level was thinner and the two phases of LB distinguished in former digs could not be differentiated.

The Iron I buildings used some of the old LB walls, but added many new ones. The pottery here suggests a slum area, poorer even than that found elsewhere in the Iron I period. One interesting doorway, however, was partially preserved. The Iron I levels found on previous digs were so thick that three or four phases of Iron I could be distinguished, but these could not be differentiated in the thin Iron I level of 1957. Most of these same rooms continued in use into the Iron II phase. Nothing new was learned in the Iron II level. This was also a poverty-stricken area in that period. The deep plowing of the Beitîn farmers has destroyed the house walls above the Iron II level, although the debris was full of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine sherds, especially the first.

Most of the pottery found in the 1957 campaign was similar to that of the earlier digs, although the variety of forms was far less. The most interesting pottery find of the season was four sherds of Khirbet Kerak ware near the bottom of the glacis of the west wall. Also the number of MB I sherds found in the glacis of the northwest walls shows that the MB I phase of the city must have been more important than hitherto thought. That phase would naturally be at its best near the springs but most of that area is now covered by houses and cannot be excavated. Small finds were similar to those found in the earlier two campaigns although their number was proportionally smaller and their quality poorer. A new form of stamped jar handle portrays a deer in the forest.

The most unique find was an inscribed pottery stamp from South Arabia, which is discussed in the next article.

# AN INSCRIBED SOUTH ARABIAN CLAY STAMP FROM BETHEL*

G. W. Van Beek and A. Jamme

In the course of the 1957 campaign at Beitin, biblical Bethel, James L. Kelso unearthed a portion of a large clay stamp, which he brought to our attention in August 1958, during consultations with W. F. Albright concerning the results of that campaign; we are indebted to him for his kindness in permitting us to publish it. Albright and the writer immediately identified the stamp as South Arabic on the basis of the inscription and the fabric, and the reading of the letters which they proposed was independently confirmed by Jamme, who first saw the piece two weeks later.

According to Kelso, the stamp was found in debris outside the city wall on the southwest of the site. Three painted Iron I sherds were found in the immediate vicinity and, while these are suggestive, they do not provide a clear date for the stamp; there might have been a *terminus ante quem* if it had been found in the stratified remains inside the city wall. Its date, therefore, rests on the palaeographical and historical considerations discussed below.

*Description.* The stamp is flat and rectangular in shape with slightly rounded ends (figs. 1-4). It is 7 cm. long (maximum preserved length), 8 cm. wide, and 1.5 cm. thick. Originally it measured about 10.5-11 cm. in length, an estimate based on the probable arc of the vertical loop handle and on the assumption that the distance from the base of the handle to the end of the missing portion corresponds to that of the preserved fragment.[1] A vertical loop handle was attached to the upper surface, of which a 1.2 cm. stub remains. The axis of the handle is not aligned with that of the stamp, but runs obliquely at an angle of about 30° from the long axis of the stamp, as shown by the location of the raised ridge which marks the inner edge of the handle (fig. 4). This ridge could not conveniently be pressed down when the handle was attached, because the potter was unable to put his fingers into the small hole. Elsewhere, the clay around the perimeter of the handle has been pressed down so firmly that depressions from the potter's finger tips are clearly preserved on the upper surface (fig. 2). That this made an exceedingly strong joint is shown by the fact that the fracture occurred not at the joint, where one would expect, but below the top of the loop handle itself. Further evidence for the asymmetrical placement of the handle is the line of fracture of the stamp, which runs at right angles to the axis of the handle. It is precisely in this area, i. e., below the center of the handle and at right angles to it, that the greatest stress must occur in a flat stamp of this type.[2]

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* This study is an outgrowth of a number of discussions between W. F. Albright and the authors, and represents our composite view of this piece.

[1] If our estimate is wrong, the length of the piece would be slightly longer or shorter. The arc of the handle, of course, cannot be appreciably longer than our estimate, since it would put the joint too near the edge to be secure.

[2] The handle was intentionally placed asymmetrically to prevent fracture across the middle of the piece along the deeply gouged horizontal line divider on the face, which, of course, weakened the structure of the stamp.

The paste is typically South Arabian and wholly unlike that used in Palestine. It is reddish-brown in color on all surfaces, with a thick black core in both the stamp and handle. It is very heavily tempered with straw, which, after firing, has left numerous holes and elongated impressions of the fibers on the surfaces and in section (see fig. 2).[3] A number of pebbles or extremely large grits are also present in the paste, but whether they were mixed into the clay as temper or simply represent foreign matter in poorly cleaned clay is uncertain.

The stamp was inscribed when it was leather-hard, after which a dark reddish-brown slip was applied to all surfaces. Although the lower or inscribed surface is worn away from hard use or from weathering, traces of the original slip are found in the bottom of virtually all letter grooves, proving that the slip was applied to this surface after the letters had been gouged out. It was then hand-burnished on the upper surface, including the handle, and on the edges; the strokes are generally parallel to the long axis of the piece. Whether the lower or inscribed surface was also burnished cannot be determined with certainty, owing to the fact that it is worn away. But since all other surfaces are burnished, and since burnishing yields a smoother surface which would be advantageous in stamping, it is probable that it too was finished in a similar manner.

We know of no exact parallels to this stamp, but this is not surprising in view of the fact that, except for Hajar Bin Ḥumeid, no South Arabian sites of such an early period as this stamp have yet been excavated.[4] Bronze open-work stamps, rectangular in shape and with a vertical loop handle on the upper surface are known in later periods, e. g., one from Tomb A5 at Ḥureidha of about the fifth or fourth century B. C.,[5] and undated one from the Jauf (Ma'in),[6] and one from the South-Gate area of Timna' from about the beginning of the Christian era.[7] Although these stamps are only one-fourth as large as our clay stamp and have fewer letters, their identical function and generally similar shape indicates that they belong to the same genre, and that they represent a later stage in the development of South Arabian stamps.

G. W. V. B.

*Text.*

*MY . .*
*FDN*

---

[3] Straw temper was used in Palestinian pottery in the Neolithic and Arab periods; it is not found in pottery of the second and first millennia B. C. About 80% of the Wadi Beiḥân pottery of all periods is straw-tempered.

[4] Stamps used to inscribe bricks in Mesopotamia were also made of clay, rectangular in shape, and fitted with vertical loop handles.

[5] G. Caton Thompson, *The Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha (Hadhramaut)*, (Oxford, 1944), p. 77 and pl. 45: 15, p. 178: *Caton Thompson 57 bis.* This piece has not hitherto been recognized as a fragment of a stamp; its reading should therefore be reversed from that proposed by G. Ryckmans, who also calls attention to a British Museum piece, B. M. 40652. The latter, with five letters, is proportionately longer than the above examples.

[6] *CIS* IV, 3, fasc. 1, no. 810. Though not pictured, *CIS* IV, 3, fasc. 1, no. 759 is presumably similar to no. 810.

[7] Field Catalogue no. S 79, unpublished.

The open bottom both in *M* and *F*, as well as the *Y* with a very wide circle and a very short stroke, are already attested in the graffiti of Wadi Beiḥân and in the rock inscriptions from Mukeras.[8] However, neither *M* nor *F* here is open at the top. In *M*, the two elements are contiguous; the very narrow white line which in my facsimile divides the top of the letter into two parts, is intended to show that the top curve is made in two strokes. In *F*, the line divider unites the upper extremity of each element of the letter. It should be remembered that *M* with an open bottom is already attested in Bellerby-Habban 1 c/2 and 3 d/1.[9] The letter

FIG. 1. Face of the South Arabian stamp from Bethel, showing the deeply gouged letters and line dividers.

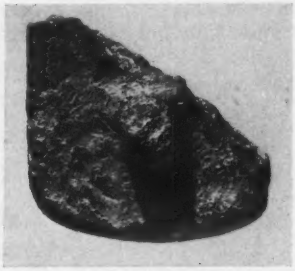

FIG. 2. The upper surface of the stamp. The short random lines on the surface are impressions of straw temper.

which follows *Y*, is *N*; a part of its center still remains on the fragment. As regards the last sign of the first remaining line, the restoration either of a word divider or the letter *R* is obviously out of the question, and the possibility of either *H* or *Ś*, such as shown in my chart of South-Arabian letters (the second *H* in reverse, and the third one, and the second *Ś*), is too far-fetched; besides, the roots *ḥfd* and *šfd* are unknown. The two parts of *D* are so close to each other that the hypothesis of reading /' is excluded; furthermore, judging from the circle of *Y*, the ' should be circular and not angular. The last point to be mentioned here is that each line is set off by horizontal strokes (a very thick one between the lines, and a very thin one below the last line of the inscription); each line of the text was presumably set between two horizontal strokes, as is common in South-Arabian seals (e.g. CIH 822), as well as in the rock inscriptions from Mukeras.

My interpretation of this fragmentary inscription is only a first attempt, based on the following considerations:

The estimate of the original length, about 10.5-11 cm., suggests that the original text was composed of only three lines, as in the seal RÉS 3843. The maximum height of the first remaining lines in 3.2 cm.; that of the last one is 2 cm.; and both the space between the two lines or that below the last line is 0.4 cm. If the first two lines were of approximately the same height, the total height of the *text* was about 9.6 cm. Therefore,

[8] Cf. my chart of South-Arabian letters, second column (third *M* and second *F*), in W. Phillips, *Qataban and Sheba* (New York, 1955), p. 42. Some examples of *M* in my copies of rock inscriptions are even closer to the present one than the third in my chart.

[9] Cf. *Le Muséon*, 62 (1949), p. 105, and drawing on p. 113 for the first, and for the second, p. 110 and drawing on p. 63.

the number of letters in the original was probably 11 (4 in each of the first two lines, and 3 in the last one). Besides, the word divider does not appear in the two remaining lines, and probably was not used at all in the text, as is the case in many graffiti and rock inscriptions, including the "Archaic South-Arabian Inscription in Vertical Columns," (from Jebel 'Awrâd, Wadi Beiḥân), Ja 863/5, after *b'ḏn*.[10] Furthermore, the name of the bearer's father is not usually found on seals. Finally, that a South Arabian—without alluding to kings, rulers, or tribal chiefs—mentions his function, is a common feature; e. g. the well-known nouns *mqtwy* "high official of . . . ," *'bd* "servant of . . . ," *qyn* "administrator

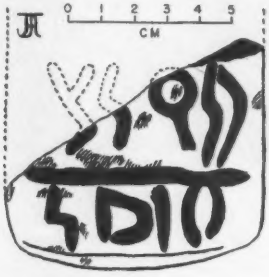


FIG. 3. Drawing of the inscription.

of . . . ," *kbr* "leader of . . . ," and also *qrḍ* (RÉS 4813/1) "business agent of . . . ," *db(w)n* (Philby-Tritton 135 a/1-2) "the worker,"[11] etc.

The form *-yn* may at first sight be interpreted as the ending either of a gentilic or personal name. The second hypothesis is much more plausible than the first,[12] for it involves *ḥmyn*, well attested as a personal

[10] Cf. BULLETIN, 137 (1955), pp. 32-38. I hope to come back later to the decipherment of that Qatabanian rock inscription; cf. W. F. Albright's note *l. c.*, 138 (1955), p. 50, and A. van den Branden, "Le déchiffrement des inscriptions protosinaïtiques," *al-Machriq*, May-June 1958, pp. 362-95 (summary in Arabic on pp. 396-97), and pl. I-VIII.

[11] Cf. my paper "Un désastre nabatéen devant Nagrân," *Cahiers de Byrsa*, 6 (1956), pp. 169-70.

[12] In this hypothesis, the *M* of *-myn* would be the last letter of the name either of a country (e. g. *sb'yn* "the Sabaean" e. g. in Ja 741/2), or of a clan (e. g. *fyšnyn* "the Fayšânite" in Ja 698/2) or of a city (e. g. *ṣrwḥytn* "the Ṣirwâḥite woman" in Ja 717/1). The first name that comes to attention is that of the Minaean city of Haram (now Medînet Haram; some 5 km. northwest of the Minaean capital city Qarnâwu, and about 95 km. northwest of Mârib), whose name was either *ḥrm* (e. g. RÉS 2749/7 or *ḥrmm* (e. g. RÉS 2742/5). Restoring *ḥr* at the end of line 1 would leave space for a two-letter personal name. The possibility of such a name is not to be ruled out because of *ǵm* (RÉS 3363/1) or *ḫm* (RÉS 4975). However, such a name is not frequent; therefore, it would be advisable to prefer, for the gentilic form, a two-letter proper name, and *'m* is known in a graffito from the country of el-'Öla, as a Minaean clan name: RÉS 3373: *wfy/ḏ'm*. The beginning of the present text would thus read either as [. . *ḥr*]*m*⌜*yn*⌝ or as [. . . '⌝*m*⌜*yn*⌝, "[. . ,] the [Hara]mite" or [. . . ,] the ['A]mmite" respectively.

name in the Minaean graffiti from the region of el-ʿÖla (e. g. RÉS 3448). The restoration of *ḥ* at the end of line 1 would leave space for a three-letter personal name.[13] My interpretation of the rest of the inscription depends on the reading of the last letter of line 2. This letter could *a priori* be read either as *ḥ* or *k* or ʾ; in any case, the final *n* could be the article. The Arabic root *ḥfd* does not provide an acceptable meaning; nor does the Arabic root *ḫfd* to which I refer in my interpretation of the Sabaean noun *ḥfd* in the unpublished, fragmentary Ja 598/4-5: . . ./*w*ʾ]*ḥfd*/*ṣdqm* ". . . and] perfect grandson[s]" (cf. Arabic *ḥafīd* " grandson "). The root *ḥfd*, which involves the idea of being " narrow " both in Datîna [14] and in Ḥaḍrami [15] does not help either. The interpretation of the sign as an upside-down *K* (normal position e. g. in RÉS 4603/2) is supported by several rock inscriptions from Mukeras; however, the root *kfd* does not exist either in Arabic, Hebrew or Syriac, and is not alluded to either in Soqoṭri,[16] Ḥaḍrami,[17] or Ẓafâr.[18] The root *kfd* is, however, attested in Mehri,[19] Šaḥri,[20] and Datîna; [21] but, the meanings are not suitable here. A final possibility of interpreting the sign, which as a matter of fact is the very first that came to my mind while studying the fragment, is an upside-down ʾ, as shown in my chart of South-Arabian letters (third specimen in the second column), the existence of which is attested in several rock inscriptions (*not* graffiti) from Mukeras, for instance, in the well-known formula *bʾdn*/*ʿm*. I hesitantly relate *ʾfd* to the root *wfd*, and refer to Arabic *wâfid* " ambassador, envoy, messenger " as well as to Datîna *wfd* " venir, faire des tournées." [22] Then, *ʾfdn* might be translated as " the delegate," that is to say the official representative whose function was to authenticate shipments of goods by his seal. However, if one prefers to interpret the last word of the inscription as another proper name, one has the choice between the three following readings: *ʾfdn*, *ḥfdn*, or *kfdn*.

My interpretation of the text may thus be summarized as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [. . . *ḥ*] | 1 | [. . . *Ha*-] |
| *my*⌜*n*ʾ⌝ | 2 | *miy*⌜*ân*⌝, *the* ⌜*de*-⌝ |
| *fdn* | 3 | legate. |

The last remark to be made here is that, since the object is a seal, the

[13] For instance, *ṣdq*, *hn*ʾ, *rṯd*, *ʾws*, *sm*ʿ, *ṯhy* and *bnn* in RÉS 2929/1.

[14] Cf. Landberg, *Glossaire daṭînois* (Leiden, 1920), p. 442.

[15] Cf. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût* (Leiden, 1901), p. 554.

[16] Cf. W. Leslau, *Lexique soqoṭri* (Paris, 1938), p. 223, and M. Bittner, *Vorstudien zur Grammatik und zum Wörterbuch der Soqoṭri-Sprache*, II (*Sitz. A. W. W., Ph.-h. Kl.*, 186, 4), (Vienna, 1918), p. 77.

[17] Cf. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût*, p. 703.

[18] Cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Der vulgärarabische Dialekt im Ḏofâr* (*Ẓfâr*), II (*Südarabische Expedition*, X), (Vienna, 1911), p. 52 A.

[19] Cf. A. Jahn, *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien* (*Südarabische Expedition*, III), (Vienna, 1902), p. 200 A: " *kafôd* herab-, hinabsteigen; landen."

[20] Cf. M. Bittner, *Studien zur Šḥauri-Sprache*, IV (*Sitz. A. W. W., Ph.-h. Kl.*, 183, 5), (Vienna, 1917), p. 43: " *kfd* hinuntergehen (mehrisierend!—mh. *kafôd*)."

[21] Cf. Landberg, *Glossaire daṭînois* (1942), p. 2579: " *kfd*, descendre, venir en bas."

[22] Cf. Landberg, *Glossaire daṭînois*, *l. c.*, p. 2931.

impression must be read from left to right. This direction, together with the vertical arrangement of letters (as in Ja 863) may be considered as preceding the boustrophedon period, which was then followed by the right-to-left direction.

A. J.

*Function.* It should be noted that although the stamp would be unsatisfactory for marking pottery jars or jar-mouth sealings because of its large surface area and flatness,[23] it would be quite suitable for marking or sealing leather bags and woven sacks, and for this purpose its large surface area and flatness is no obstacle. Identification markings

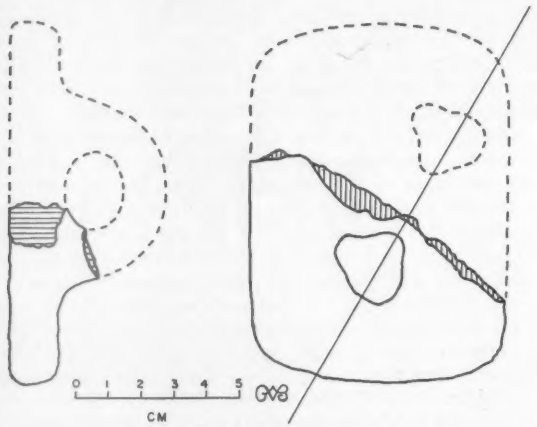


FIG. 4. Reconstruction of the stamp. The transverse section follows the axis of the handle.

could have been stamped directly on the leather or sacking by the application of a colored dye to the face of the stamp, or the stamp could have been pressed into the substance—perhaps clay, pitch, gum, or resin—used to seal the bags.[24] The use of bags or sacks as containers

[23] To have been effectively used in this manner, the jars would have necessarily been so large that their weight and bulk would have considerably reduced the quantity of the transported commodity, making them economically impracticable for caravan traffic.

[24] Stamps such as this were probably carried by the official agents who accompanied the caravans to seal breaks in the sacks, to stamp new sacks which replaced those worn out in the long and difficult journey, or to reseal bags en route when opening them was necessary to pay customs duty or to sell a portion of the commodity for the purchase of supplies. It may be that the stamp was broken at Bethel and discarded when the agent was marking or sealing return cargoes for South Arabia, since it is unthinkable that caravans returned empty to their points of origin. It is also conceivable that a resident agent of the South Arabian state was stationed in Bethel to handle affairs in connection with caravan trade.

obviously means that dry commodities formed the cargoes, and we can scarcely be wrong in supposing that the bulk of the cargoes was frankincense,[25] although the possibility that myrrh and other spices were also imported cannot be excluded, since they too were widely used in Palestine. But since frankincense was primarily if not solely used in ancient Israel in connection with religious rites,[26] and since Bethel was the site of the chief royal temple of the Northern Kingdom, where Jeroboam I and his successors burned incense,[27] it is highly probable that frankincense was the commodity shipped to Bethel, and that this stamp is evidence of that trade.

*Date.* As noted above, the context in which the stamp was found is not as helpful in determining its date as one might desire. Fortunately, however, the palaeography of the stamp and historical considerations combine to indicate its general period. It has been shown above that the forms of letters, particularly *M* and *F*, are similar to those found in a number of graffiti in Wadi Beihân and Mukeiras, and probably belong to about the ninth century B. C. The historical situation at Bethel as described in the biblical narrative supports this approximate date. In view of the fact that the stamp must be connected with incense trade, and the latter in turn with offerings in the royal temple at Bethel, we can reasonably conclude that the stamp was in use during the time that the temple was in existence. Thanks to I Kings 12: 29 and 17: 5, we know that it was built by Jeroboam I shortly after 922 B. C. and was probably destroyed by the Assyrians before *c.* 722-21 B. C.[28] This means, then, that the stamp must have been used and discarded at Bethel at some time between the last quarter of the tenth and the third quarter of the eighth centuries B. C. Without pressing the issue too far, we are probably justified in limiting the period to the most prosperous reigns in the

[25] On the role of incense in South Arabia and evidence for early trading in this commodity, see now the writer's recent study, "Frankincense and Myrrh in Ancient South Arabia," *JAOS* 78 (1958), No. 3; and A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet* I in *Osten und Orient* (Vienna, 1922); II in *Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultät der Deutschen Universität in Prag,* XIII (Brünn, 1933).

[26] Note that all biblical references to frankincense, with the exception of Isa. 60:6, which speaks of importing frankincense from Sheba, and Song of Sol. 3: 6; 4: 6, 14, which refer to frankincense only in poetic metaphors, deal in one way or another with offerings or with the storing of frankincense in the temple (on the latter, see Neh. 13: 5, 9; I Chr. 9: 29). Myrrh, on the other hand, was used cosmetically, except in Exod. 30: 23 where it is an ingredient of the holy anointing oil, and in the general references in Song of Sol. 3: 6; 4: 6, 14; 5: 1, 13.

[27] See I Kings 12: 25-33; Amos 7: 13. Regarding its status as a royal sanctuary, see W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore, 1957), p. 301; *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore, 1946), p. 139. The Bethel temple appears in these verses as more important than the one at Dan in the time of Jeroboam I, and this situation probably remained unchanged throughout the history of the Northern Kingdom, because of its proximity to Jerusalem (which it was intended to displace) and because it must have served the entire central hill country of Palestine, as far north as the Plain of Esdraelon.

[28] Whatever remained of the temple may have been used during the Assyrian occupation (cf. I Kings 17: 28), but its status as a royal sanctuary ended with the Assyrian conquest.

Northern Kingdom when, no doubt, the greatest quantities of frankincense were imported, namely to Omri and Ahab (*c.* 876-850) or Jeroboam II (*c.* 786-746). Historical and paleographical indications, taken together, suggest the ninth century B. C.

*Significance.* The importance of this stamp for South Arabian and Palestinian studies can hardly be overstated. As perhaps the earliest South Arabian inscription known (except for rock inscriptions), it provides an invaluable peg for the study of South Arabian palaeography. Of equal importance is the light it sheds on relations between Palestine and South Arabia. Since it is the earliest (possibly even the first) South Arabian object found in Palestine, it proves that contact had already been established between Israel and South Arabia early in the first millennium B. C., no more than two centuries and possibly only a few years after the visit of the "queen of Sheba" to Solomon. While the substantial historicity of this event has been increasingly accepted in recent years, this object carries us closer to that period than most scholars had dared hope. Moreover the fact that it was found at the temple city of Bethel enables us to define the nature of this contact with reasonable probability.

G. W. V. B

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## A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF A HELLENISTIC POTTERY GROUP FROM BETH-ZUR

Paul and Nancy Lapp

After an interim of 26 years, a second excavation at Khirbet et-Tubeiqah was undertaken by O. R. Sellers for McCormick Theological Seminary and the American Schools of Oriental Research between October 10 and November 6, 1957. Among other things the excavators discovered two cisterns. One was found late in the campaign and was filled by rain before it could be adequately studied. The other was discovered on the second day of the campaign and was explored and surveyed during the following ten days. A study of the contents of the second cistern makes a contribution to our knowledge of Late Hellenistic pottery and merits publication before the final excavation reports. We are much indebted to Dr. Sellers for kindly permitting us to publish this study.

The cistern was discovered on the southeast slope of the tell, in Locus 186 of the 1931 excavation.[1] The floor of the cistern (6.62 × 4.70 m.) was covered by a layer of silt 80-96 cm. thick. Large stones partially

[1] The circular structure in Locus 186 that was construed as a press in 1931 was found to be the shaft of the cistern. Cp. O. R. Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth-zur* (Philadelphia, 1933), pp. 24, 26 and Pl. II. (Henceforth CBZ)

filled the cistern proper and rose from the floor in the shape of an inverted cone, filling and effectively blocking the shaft itself. As a result, only a 40-160 cm. strip of silt at the west end of the cistern was left exposed. Imbedded in this strip were eight whole or nearly whole water jars and six whole or nearly whole cooking pots. A 1.50 m. strip of silt along the north wall of the cistern was then exposed by removing the mass of stones which, unfortunately, had pressed as far as 45 cm. into the silt layer. This meant that all the vessels in the north strip were crushed. Sherds from twelve water jugs, one juglet, and three cooking pots were found here. It was possible to reconstruct nine of these vessels almost completely. The vessels in both strips began to appear at 10-20 cm. under the silt surface.

*Dating the pottery.* The pottery by form, ware, and location in the silt is quite homogeneous. It is also homogeneous with the pottery of the thin stratum of sherd-containing loose gray earth that extended over the top of the cistern.[2] Under the gray earth was a dark brown clay stratum, the lowest floor of which was dated by two coins of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 B. C.). Thus, the *terminus a quo* of the lowest stratum is *ca.* 175 B. C. The *terminus ad quem* of communal life at Beth-zur is near the end of the reign of John Hyrcanus (135-104 B. C.). The numismatic evidence from both campaigns indicates this.[3]

The coins also indicate "intensive occupation"[4] in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes,[5] a very limited occupation between 160 and 145 B. C.,[6] and a larger community again in the reigns of Demetrius II, Antiochus VII, and John Hyrcanus.[5] The location of these strata at the tell some distance outside the Hellenistic fortifications discovered in 1931, strongly suggests that the two strata are to be identified with the two periods of more intensive occupation.

The earlier stratum can with some confidence be dated between 175 and 165 B. C., since the first intensive occupation of the site probably ceased when Judas captured Beth-zur in 165 B. C.[7] The discovery of a bath belonging to the earlier stratum fits this date well. It is hardly possible that the bath would have been built outside the fortifications of

[2] The five registered fragments of jugs, cooking pots, and juglets from this stratum provided exact comparisons with the cistern vessels.

[3] CBZ, pp. 11, 13, 70, 89-90. BULLETIN 43, pp. 10-12. None of the comparatively few coins of the 1957 campaign can be dated with certainty after John Hyrcanus. The two coins from the first century B. C. (BULLETIN 43, p. 12) and a single jug rim and handle (from the 1931 Beth-zur pottery at the Jerusalem School) that exactly duplicates the Qumran I b type are evidence for scattered settlement in at least the early first century B. C., but sufficient evidence to posit communal living at this time is lacking.

[4] BULLETIN 43, p. 10.

[5] CBZ, p. 70.

[6] No coins of Demetrius I or Alexander Balas were recorded in the 1957 campaign. The paucity of coins from this period in the 1931 campaign (BULLETIN 43, p. 10; CBZ, pp. 83-90) led Sellers and Albright to state that, ". . . the Syrian garrison was either entirely removed during most of this period [160-145 B. C.], or that it was reduced to the smallest possible number." BULLETIN 43, p. 12. However, 1 Macc. 10:12-14, Josephus, Antiquities XIII.2.1 and XIII.5.6, might indicate that this is a slight overstatement of the case.

[7] Josephus, Antiquities XII.7.5. 1 Macc. 4:26-61; 6:5-7.

Judas[8] or Bacchides[9] in the troubled times when the population of Beth-zur was small.[10]

It also seems likely that the beginning of the second major occupation under Demetrius II is to be associated with the rebuilding by Simon about 142 B. C.[11] The fact that the city was not violently destroyed when Simon captured it[12] is reflected by the archaeological evidence, which does not indicate violent destruction between the two strata. Therefore, the upper stratum and the cistern pottery can be dated *ca.* 140 to 100 B. C.

*The cistern pottery.* Figs. 1 and 2 show two cooking pots, a juglet, and five water jugs from the cistern. Another cooking pot is shown at the right in Figs. 3 and 4. (In the descriptions below, registration numbers are in parenthesis.)

Fig. 1 1—(BZ 276.130) one thin strap handle poorly attached to body, straight neck slightly everted, very thin ware, slightly ribbed upper part of body to near neck, ribs regularly 5 mm. apart, reddish brown ware, fairly coarse levigation, white grits, signs of burning on bottom.

2—(BZ 276.131) two thin strap handles poorly attached to body, neck slightly concave, thin ware, slight irregular ribbing near mid-body, reddish brown ware, few medium to large white grits, fairly coarse levigation, signs of burning over outside of body and down to mid-body inside.

3—(BZ 276.155) strap handle with slight twist, narrow neck, very slight irregular ribbing, pink core, light buff outside and inside, few medium white grits, medium levigation.

4—(BZ 276.141) shape of rim of this smallest jug different from other cistern water jugs, ware of body thicker than ware of neck, ribbing inside pronounced near base and at neck, gray to reddish buff core, brownish orange inside, grayish buff slip outside, few large white grits, medium levigation.

5—(BZ 276.139) typical rough handle springing up from rim and carelessly attached to shoulder, ware of neck thinner than ware of body, gray core,

[8] Josephus, Antiquities XII.7.7. 1 Macc. 4:61; 6:7.

[9] 1 Macc. 9:52. Cpp BULLETIN 43, p. 11 and C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* II (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 24-5. Probably without intention Josephus omits Beth-zur in Antiquities XIII. 1. 3.

[10] The bath discovered in the southeast corner of the *tell* is an exact parallel to the bath pictured in CBZ, p. 18, Fig. 7. All the 1931 baths are dated as Hellenistic. CBZ, p. 18. It seems quite likely that all the baths were built in the reign of Epiphanes or at least before the occupation beginning *ca.* 142 B. C. (cp. below). For contemporary parallels are found at Mycenae (A. J. B. Wace, "Excavations at Mycenae," *Annual of the British School at Athens* XXV, pp. 98-101), Tarsus (H. Goldman, ed., *Excavations at Gözlü Kale, Tarsus I* [Princeton, 1950], Text, p. 13, Plates, Fig. 19), and Gezer (R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer* I [London, 1912], pp. 223-8). The Gezer baths also are attributed to Seleucid habitation. That the small size of the bath is no obstacle to the interpretation is indicated by the fact that, in addition to the contemporary parallels, a very early predecessor of these baths had a similar length and a narrower width (C. W. Blegen, "The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1955," *American Journal of Archaeology* LX, pp. 99-100 and Pls. 47-48). It can be added that the most rotund man working with the 1957 excavation sat with room to spare in the bath on the southeast slope! Thus, the baths need not be limited to "foot-bathing." Cp. the caption of CBZ, p. 18, Fig. 7. The weight of the new evidence favors the bath theory over the dye-vat theory although the function of the multiple basins is still unexplained. Cp. CBZ, pp. 16-19.

[11] Cp. Josephus, Antiquities XIII.5.6, 10-1, and 1 Macc. 11:65-6; 13:33, 41 with 1 Macc. 14:33. Cp. BULLETIN 43, p. 11; *Denkmäler Palästinas*, pp. 24-5. CBZ, p. 11.

[12] Josephus, Antiquities XIII.5.6. Cp. 1 Macc. 11:65-6.

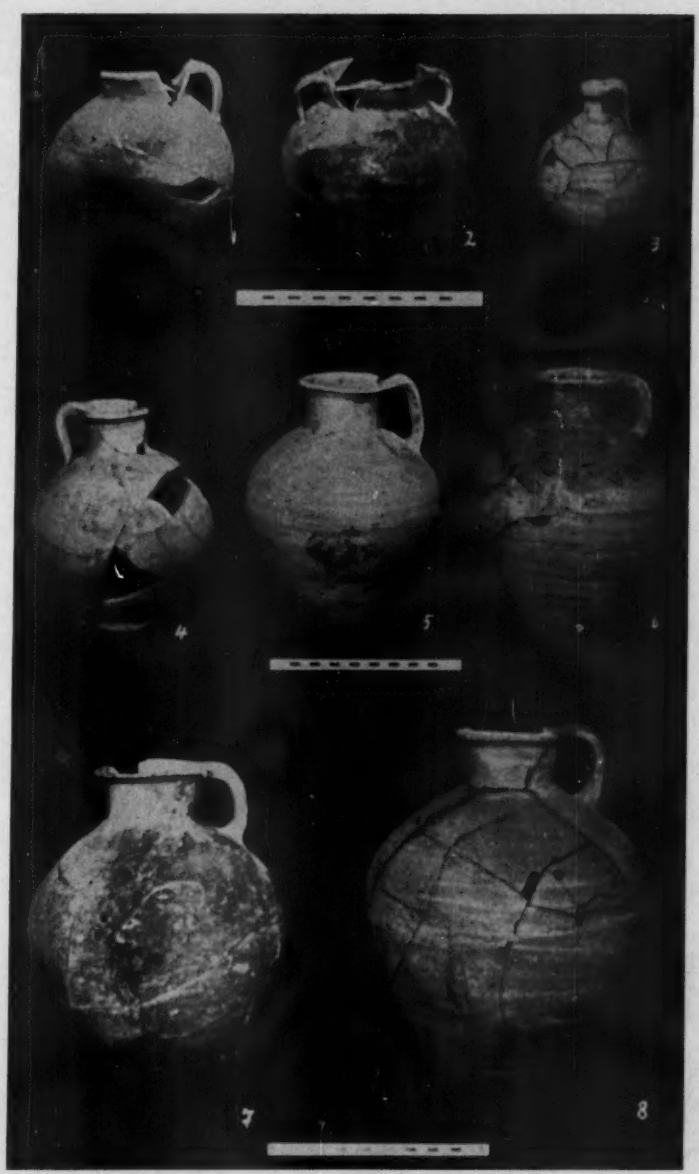


FIG. 1. Late Hellenistic pottery from a Beth-zur cistern.

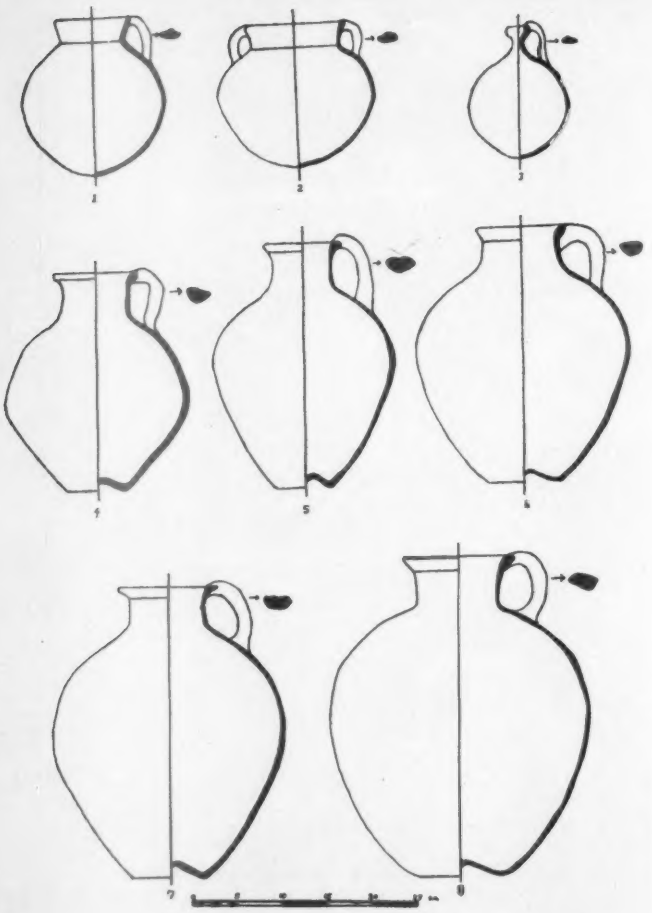

FIG. 2. Drawings of vessels in Fig. 1.

buff outside and inside surfaces, many fine and few coarse white grits, fairly fine levigation.

6—(BZ 276.140) slight irregular ribbing, light buff core, buff outside and inside surfaces, dark red slip inside neck and outside neck and shoulder, few medium white grits, fairly fine levigation.

7—(BZ 276.132) thin ware throughout, gray core, grayish brown motley surface, medium levigation.

8—(BZ 276.136) largest cistern jug, very thin but uneven light brown ware with slightly darker core, evidence of light buff slip, many fine white grits, medium levigation.

Fig. 3 1—(B57 III. 4. 15E 2126) oblong handles thickened at join to body, heavy ware, dark red surface with dark red to black core, few fine white grits, coarse levigation.

2—(BZ 276.138) thin strap handles, poorly attached to shoulder, no ribbing, reddish brown ware, some medium to fine white grits, signs of burning on bottom, medium levigation.

The water jugs just described can be distinguished from sherds of comparable jugs of the earlier Beth-zur stratum which have thicker ware and heavier and more rounded rims. No distinction seems possible in the cooking pots though there is a slight tendency for the earlier ware to be heavier. An extended treatment of the stratified pottery, however, must await final publication.

*Contemporary and later parallels.* Khirbet Qumrân [13] Period I b, dated from about the reign of Alexander Janneus (103-76 B. C.) to 31 B. C.,[14] provides the cistern pottery with an immediate sequence. The cooking pot, RB LXI, p. 219, Fig. 2:23, is a very close parallel to Fig. 2:2. The cistern vessel is slightly smaller and its neck in proportion has a greater diameter, but otherwise the rim, handles, ware, and body proportion are closely parallel. In both cases the body reaches its widest diameter at mid-height. The Qumrân pot comes from Trench A and probably belongs to Period I b.[15] The Trench A one-handled cooking pot, RB LXI, p. 219, Fig. 2:22, is practically identical with CBZ, Pl. X:5. Four other Period I and I b cooking pots closely resemble the Beth-zur pot BZ 276.134 not shown here. These are RB LXI, p. 221, Fig. 3:22, RB LXIII, p. 553, Fig. 1:16, and RB LXIII, p. 557, Fig. 3:5 and 9. The Fig. 3:5 Qumrân pot has a more squat shape, and the Fig. 3:9 pot has a much larger body than the cistern pots. A cooking pot from Period II (RB LXI, p. 223, Fig. 4:15) also closely resemble BZ 276.134. Another cooking pot from Period II [16] is found in RB LX, p. 99, Fig. 3:11, for which the closest cistern comparison is Fig. 4:2. The pot from Qumrân is more squat. Its base comes to a slight point and its neck is shorter. A cursory examination of the large corpus of Qumrân pottery through the courtesy of Père R. de Vaux indicates that this is a typical pot of Period II.

[13] The first campaign is discussed in *Revue Biblique* LX, pp. 540-61, the second campaign in RB LXI, pp. 206-36, and the last three campaigns in RB LXIII, pp. 533-77.

[14] RB LXIII, pp. 534, 538.

[15] RB LXI, p. 214. R. de Vaux suggests that the debris was cleared from the buildings at the beginning of Period II, which is dated *ca.* 4 B. C. to 68 A. D.

[16] RB LXI, p. 228.

Juglets like Fig. 1:3 are found in Qumrân Period I (RB LXI, p. 221, Fig. 3:20), Period II (RB LX, p. 99, Fig. 3:1 and 3; RB LXI, p. 223, Figs. 4:9), and Period III (RB LXI, p. 227, Fig. 6:2). The cistern juglet is wider and taller than any of the Qumrân juglets. The Qumrân juglets also have more clearly defined and slightly longer necks. The general shape, swollen neck, and slightly twisted strap handle of the Qumrân juglets are very close to cistern Fig. 2:3. The rims of the Qumrân juglets show varying forms, some of which closely resemble the rim of the cistern juglet. Examination of a number of the juglets from Qumrân confirms these observations. RB LXIII, p. 559, Fig. 4:8, with its more elongated body and unswollen neck, is taller than the cistern juglet.

The cistern jugs may be compared with two jugs from Period I b (RB LXIII, p. 553, Fig. 1:5 and p. 555, Fig. 2:1) and two from Period II (RB LXI, p. 223, Fig. 4:12; RB LXIII, p. 559, Fig. 4:3). Qumrân Fig. 2:1 most closely resembles cistern Fig. 1:7. The size and general shape are very close, but the rim is like that of Fig. 1:4, which is unique in the cistern. The base is quite comparable. The rims of Qumrân Fig. 4:12, Fig. 1:5 and Fig. 4:3 have an inside groove or shelf unlike any cistern rims. The base of Qumrân Fig. 4:12 has a point at its outer edge unlike any cistern jugs.

The similarities between the cistern and Qumrân vessels certainly warrant close chronological relation. A marked persistence in form and ware from the latter part of the second century B. C. through the first century A. D. is indicated,[17] though it is clear that the typological sequence is Beth-zur cistern ware—Qumrân Period I b. Significant chronological differences are summarized below with the hope that they will prove reliable in the light of subsequent evidence.[18]

1. The globular cooking pot of thin ware with thin strap handles and straight to slightly everted neck, common in the latter part of the second century B. C., continues into the first century A. D. with no apparent change. Slight ribbing may or may not occur throughout the period. A closely related but more squat and often somewhat larger cooking pot with long neck appears to develop in the first century B. C. This squat type has an even more squat appearance in the first century A. D., when its neck is shorter.

2. The round cistern juglet apparently becomes somewhat smaller and receives a more clearly defined and slightly longer neck in the first century B. C. RB LXIII, p. 559, Fig. 4:8 with its elongated body may represent a modification beginning in the first century A. D.

3. The water jugs of the cistern type receive two obvious modifications between the latter part of the second century B. C. and near the end of the first century B. C. The rather sharply everted rim coming to a point is apparently replaced by the Qumrân type rims. Only one cistern jug has a square outside section like the Qumrân jugs, but it does not have the inside shelf characteristic of the Qumrân jugs. Bases continue to be concave but become more pointed at the outside edge. The base alteration began after the rim change began.

Bethany's Cistern 61 pottery, found under the steps, is dated to the

[17] To what extent this persistence is to be related to the conservatism of the Qumran community requires further investigation.

[18] Comparisons past the first century A. D. are beyond the scope of this article.

FIG. 3. 1. Cooking pot from Shechem. 2. Cooking pot from Beth-zur cistern.

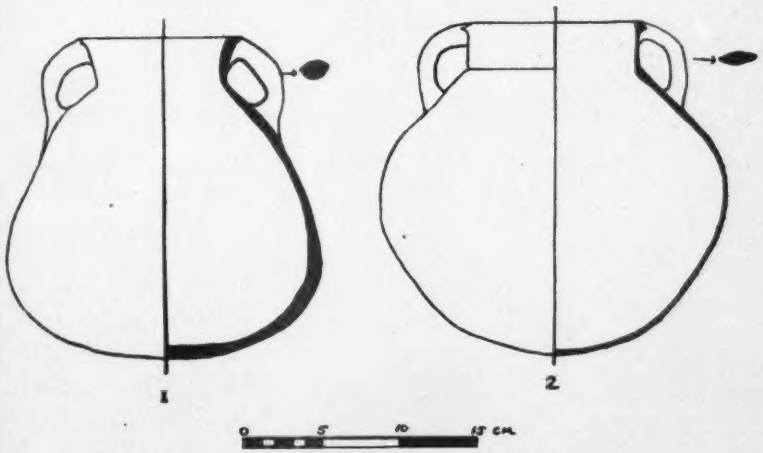


FIG. 4. Drawings of cooking pots in Fig. 3.

first century B. C. by pottery comparisons.[19] It also produced whole and nearly whole cooking pots.[20] These pots closely resemble the Beth-zur pots in form and ware, BZ 276.133 being the closest parallel. From an undated locus at Bethany comes a cooking pot type which S. Saller says, " . . . really should not be confused with the preceding group." [21] However, it is closely parallel to Bethany, Fig. 47:2165 from Cistern 61, as he states.[22] It is also closely related to Fig. 3:2 from the Beth-zur cistern. Two pot fragments, also very closely akin to the Beth-zur cistern, are classed as Persian-Early Hellenistic.[23]

The juglets in Bethany, Fig. 58:1-53 (from Jericho), Fig. 61:1788A, 1787, and in *Liber Annuus* III, p. 21, Fig. 7:1, are parallels to the Beth-zur juglet, Fig. 1:3. All appear to have slightly longer necks than the Beth-zur juglet. Fig. 61:1788A has a taller rim. All are dated to the first century B. C. on the basis of numerous parallels [24] except the last, which is from Columbarium 65. A number of other juglets from Columbarium 65, examined through the courtesy of Father Spijkerman of the Flagellation Museum in Jerusalem, are even closer analogues to the Beth-zur juglet than Fig. 7:1.

The two whole water jugs from Cistern 61 are close parallels to the Qumrân jug RB LXIII, p. 555, Fig. 2:1, from Period I b.[25] Rim 2204, Bethany, Fig. 60, however, is very similar to the Beth-zur jug rims. Jug fragments classed as Persian-Hellenistic which have close parallels in the Beth-zur cistern are discussed in Bethany, pp. 289-90.[26] S. Saller reconstructs a base like that of a Beth-zur cistern jug for a jug of his Late Byzantine–Early Arabic Period. This base does not actually occur; the drawing, unfortunately, does not indicate that it is reconstructed.[27]

These comparisons in general confirm the dating of Cistern 61 to the first century B. C. with some material possibly slightly earlier. The jug bases are certainly later than the Beth-zur jug bases. It seems that the Columbarium 65 pottery mentioned above and dated to the earliest phase of excavated Bethany can hardly antedate the second century B. C. It cannot go back to the Persian period.[28] The characteristics of ribbing and splayed rim cannot be used to distinguish cooking pots of the first century A. D. from those of the first century B. C.,[29] but the short neck does indicate a date after the Beth-zur cistern pottery and Qumrân Period I.

[19] S. Saller "Excavations in the Ancient Town of Bethany," *Liber Annuus* II, p. 144.

[20] S. Saller, *Excavations at Bethany* (Jerusalem, 1957), Fig. 47:1711, 2165. Pl. 118:5, 6, 7. This may suggest that these pots doubled as water jars. Cp. CBZ, pp. 44-5. This is also true of the Samaria cooking pots discussed below.

[21] *Bethany*, Fig. 46:4538.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

[23] *Ibid.*, Fig. 46:5142 = Pl. 118:1, Fig. 48:5175. Parallels not represented here are respectively BZ 276.154 and BZ 276.152.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 299.

[25] *Ibid.*, Fig. 61:1763, 1889.

[26] *Ibid.*, Fig. 60:7119, 5226. Cp. Fig. 1:5, 6, 8, etc. from the cistern. The close similarity was confirmed by examination of the jug fragments.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 304 and Fig. 59:2705.

[28] Cp. below.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

The Jerusalem area has produced many parallels to the cistern cooking pots and juglets.[30] The most significant for dating purposes is the pottery from the Citadel. Coins dated from 200 to 40 B. C. occur with this pottery, but most of the coins date from the reign of Alexander Janneus and after.[31] C. N. Johns dates the pottery to the first century B. C. Cistern parallels would make a slightly earlier date possible for some of the vessels. The two more squat pots with shorter necks (*Kedem* II, Pl. 3:1; *Excavations at Jerusalem*, Pl. XXV:2) probably belong to the first century A. D. and cannot come before the first century B. C. Some of the other cooking pots and juglets from the Jerusalem vicinity can also be more sharply dated by the characteristics described above.

Other parallels are found at Gezer, Tell es-Sulṭân, Tulûl Abū el-'Alâyiq, Tell ed-Duweir, Tell el-Fûl, and Murabba'ât.[32] In keeping with R. de Vaux's judgment of the chronological value of the pottery from Tulûl Abū el'Alâyiq [33] the following judgment of these parallels appears to be in order: their dating is to be changed, confirmed, or more sharply delimited in the light of more precisely dated pottery. One of the Lachish cooking pots has a squat shape with a short neck and should be dated later than the 150-100 B. C. date suggested.[34] Kelso's sharp chronological sequence, Beth-zur—Gezer—Tulûl Abū el-'Alâyiq, cannot be maintained in view of the cistern evidence.[35] The fact that Gezer apparently declined as a city at least as early as Beth-zur would also make such a sequence impossible.[36] Compare AASOR XXIX-XXX, Pl. 24:A137 with RB LXIII, p. 559, Fig. 4:8 and the discussion above. The juglet fragment (cited in n. 32) from Murabba'ât is a close parallel to the Beth-zur cistern juglet.

[30] Cooking pot parallels: P. Kahane, "Pottery Types from the Jewish Ossuary-Tombs Round Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal* II, Pl. 7:D. M. Stekelis, "A Jewish Tomb-cave at Ramath Rachel," *Journal of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 1934-35, Pl. 4:8. (Kahane in IEJ II, p. 128 avers that these references are to the same pot. The 5 + cm. difference in the distance between the handles makes this impossible! Only the latter is a close cistern parallel.) E. L. Sukenik, "Jewish Tombs in the Kidron Valley," *Kedem* II, Pl. 3:1. F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-1897* (London, 1898), Pl. XXV:2. R. W. Hamilton, "Note on Excavations at Bishop Gobat School 1933," *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* 1935, Pl. VI:10. C. N. Johns, "The Citadel, Jerusalem," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* XIV, p. 145, Fig. 14:2a. B. Bagatti, "Scoperta di un Cimetro Giudeo-Christiano al 'Dominus Flevit'," *Liber Annuus* III, p. 170, Fig. 24:1. Juglet parallels: P. Kahane, "Pottery Types from the Jewish Ossuary-Tombs around Jerusalem," IEJ III, Pl. 4:2. *Excavations at Jerusalem*, Pl. XXV:4. PEFQS 1935, Pl. VI:1, 13. QDAP XIV, p. 145, Fig. 14:4b. R. W. Hamilton, "Excavations against the North Wall of Jerusalem," QDAP X, p. 30, Fig. 14:10. Y. Aharoni, "Excavations at Ramath Raḥel, 1954," IEJ XI, p. 138, Fig. 7:5.

[31] QDAP XIV, p. 144.

[32] Cooking pots: *Gezer* III, Pl. CLXXX:6, 8. E. Sellin and C. Watzinger, *Jericho* (Leipzig, 1913), Pl. 32:A, 10c; Pl. 43:A, 11b. J. Kelso and D. Baramki, "Excavations at New Testament Jericho and Khirbet en-Nitla," AASOR XXIX-XXX, Pl. 23:A173. O. Tufnell, *Lachish* III, Text, Fig. 24:16, 18. W. F. Albright, "Excavations and Results at Tell el-Fûl," AASOR IV, Pl. XXIVb:3. Juglets: *Gezer* III, Pl. CLXXXI:11. ASSOR XXIX-XXX, Pl. 24:A137 = Pl. 13:137. R. de Vaux, "Les grottes de Murabba'at et leurs documents," RB LX, Pl. XIb:4 = p. 259, Fig. 4:8.

[33] RB LXIII, p. 551.

[34] *Lachish* III, Text, Fig. 24:16.

[35] AASOR XXIX-XXX, pp. 25-6.

[36] *Gezer* I, p. 41.

*Earlier parallels.* Evidence for developing the pottery sequence preceding the cistern ware is found to the north at Shechem, Samaria, and even as far away as Tarsus.[37] *Tarsus* I, Plates. Fig. 191:363, is a cooking pot which dates to the middle of the second century B. C.[38] The handles come out flush with the widest part of the body, unlike the cistern pots. The ware is thicker. The neck is slightly more everted than the most everted pot from Beth-zur. *Tarsus* I, Plates, Fig. 187:222, B, and C are dated near 200 B. C.[39] Their ware is thin like the Beth-zur cistern ware. The form of C is closest to that of the cistern pots. The neck of 222 is shorter than those from Beth-zur. The handle of B comes out flush with the widest part of the body. *Tarsus* I, Plates, Fig. 187:C and 191:364 are ribbed.

Samaria provides a corpus of Hellenistic pottery which is not closely dated.[40] The cooking pots, *Samaria* I, Fig. 176:2a, 2d, 2e, and 2g are all of thicker ware.[41] The fact that they are slightly ribbed should be emphasized. Necks vary from long to short. The jugs in *Samaria* I, Fig. 177:7a, 7b, and 7c also have much thicker ware than the cistern jugs and have ring bases.

Only preliminary observations can be made on the Hellenistic pottery from Shechem of the 1956 and 1957 campaigns since it still awaits detailed study.[42] Excluding surface sherds, pottery with parallels to the Beth-zur cistern ware but closer to the earlier Hellenistic stratum were found only at the topmost levels of the Hellenistic house excavated in 1957 (Field II), just under the German dump south of this house, and on the northeast slope of the tell (Field III).[43] The cooking pot fragments from the large Hellenistic pit in the East Gate area (Field I) have close affinities with the Samaria cooking pots. The pottery from this pit has no close affinities with the Late Hellenistic strata at Beth-zur. The Shechem cooking pot, Fig. 3:1, is from a cache of pottery in Field III that produced a number of large Hellenistic storage jars. The pottery forms and ware in the cooking pot context differ from the pit pottery and from the pottery with affinities to the Beth-zur strata, but they appear closer to the latter. In general the pottery from the lower levels of the Hellenistic house appears to be later than that from the East Gate pit.

[37] Possible earlier parallels from Megiddo, Lachish, and Tell en-Naṣbeh are too isolated to be of significance. Cp. P. Lamon and G. Shipton, *Megiddo* I (Chicago, 1939), Pl. 9:33. *Lachish* III, *Plates*, Pl. 93:461. J. Wampler, *Tell en-Naṣbeh* (New Haven, 1947), I, Fig. 21:21 and II, Pl. 34:592, 49:1049.

[38] H. Goldman, ed., *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* I (Princeton, 1950), Text, pp. 31, 179, 240.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1, 170, 229.

[40] Juglets parallel to Fig. 1:3 are dated before 40 B. C. This is little more help in dating Hellenistic pottery than the mere Hellenistic classification given most vessels. G. Reisner, C. Fisher, and D. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* I (Cambridge, 1924), p. 274 and Fig. 183:25a, 25b.

[41] J. Duncan, *Corpus of Palestinian Pottery* (London, 1930), in Type 32 classes these pots as Late Iron rather than Hellenistic, but cp. below.

[42] The observations about the Shechem pottery are made with the kind permission of G. Ernest Wright, Archeological Director of the Drew-McCormick Expedition.

[43] See the preliminary report of G. Ernest Wright, BULLETIN, No. 148 (Dec. 1957).

A *terminus a quo* for the groups of Shechem pottery discussed is provided by a series of floors near the East Gate. The lowest floor is dated by a coin of Alexander the Great and fragments of a Persian lamp. A cursory examination indicates that the upper floors have pottery similar to the East Gate pit. The following sequence is therefore suggested:

325-275 B. C. East Gate lower floors.
275-250 B. C. East Gate upper floors. East Gate pit.
250-175 B. C. Hellenistic house. Cache with pot in Fig. 3:1.[44]
175-140 B. C. Topmost levels of Hellenistic house. Cp. Tarsus.[45]
140-100 B. C. Surface sherds.[46]

The dating is tentative and will without doubt be modified as the pottery is studied in context along with parallels. In fact, there is good reason to hope that the pottery from Beth-zur and Shechem will provide a closely dated corpus of pottery, at least from the third and second centuries B. C., when all vase forms and their loci are carefully analyzed and compared.[47]

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[44] Josephus' reference to the prosperity of the Samaritans at the beginning of the second century B. C., Antiquities XII.4.1, correlates well with the beautiful Hellenistic house discovered at Shechem. The pottery under the floors of the earlier Beth-zur Hellenistic stratum is homogeneous with the bulk of the pottery from the Hellenistic house at Balâṭah. The earliest sherds from the lowest levels of the house appear earlier than this pottery, while pottery from the topmost phases of the house appear homogeneous with that associated with the floors dated to the time of Epiphanes.

[45] The Tarsus pottery references above present problems in form and development. Hellenistic pottery from the 1931 campaign at Beth-zur is not published by locus. Each sherd must be dated individually by comparisons. Some of the material is comparable to the cistern ware, but much is earlier. A more precise analysis of the 1931 Beth-zur Hellenistic pottery now at the Jerusalem School should be possible in the light of the new evidence.

[46] [The authors have asked me to insert a comment on the above suggestion at this point. In general I heartily concur with the chronology here suggested for the chief loci of Hellenistic pottery from the 1957 campaign at Shechem. The fine silver coin of Alexander the Great, found in the lower Hellenistic floors above the Late-Bronze-Iron I guardrooms of the East Gate (Field I, Area 7; see BULLETIN 148, East Gate Section A-A, where the two floor levels mentioned are shown at the upper right, while the pit is shown above the MB City Wall B to the left of center), may have been an heirloom. In any case, corroborative evidence must be at hand before too much weight is placed on this one coin. As for the Persian lamp found in the same stratum, it is one of several found in the whole excavation, the last type of the old Bronze and Iron Age saucer lamp. On Cyprus the type seems to survive in tombs dated by coins to the third century (Gjerstad, *et al., Swedish Cyprus Expedition* I, Pls. 73 ff.—the tombs of Kountoura Trachonia), and there is no reason why the same was not true in Palestine. The upper floors of the East Gate produced coins of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B. C.) and Alexander Balas (150-145 B. C.), one or both of which, of course, could belong with surface debris instead of to the floors in question, because the latter were immediately below the surface cultivation. The Hellenistic House in Field II, on the other hand, produced a coin of Antiochus VIII, dated 121-120 B. C.—G. Ernest Wright.]

[47] This article has been limited to the forms found in the Beth-zur cistern, although other forms have been examined in the formation of chonological judgments based on typology. For example, the imitation Greek ware from the two Beth-zur strata is obviously much poorer than that from Shechem, and of the two, only Shechem has produced sherds of genuine imported Greek ware.

# REMARKS ON SOME NAMES OCCURRING IN THE EXECRATION TEXTS

ALBRECHT GOETZE

It has been known for quite some time that all the names of Palestinian princes which the Egyptian "Execration texts"[1] contain are Amurrite. The publication of cuneiform texts from Upper Mesopotamia and Northern Syria, especially that of the Mari archives, provide us with rich comparative material.[2] W. L. Moran has published some excellent remarks in *Orientalia* 26 (1957) 339-45. I may be allowed to add here what I think I can contribute over and above the identifications previously made.

1. *kwšr* (e 5): probably hypocoristic of a name like *ktr-mlk* (i. e. *Kōṯar-malik*) RŠ 11738 (RA 37 29 f.) B 5 (= RŠ 125). *Kōṯar* (< *Kawṯar*, Philo Byblius *Khūsōr*) is now well known from Ugaritic mythology as the master craftsman of the gods.[3]

2. *ḫ³wb³ḫ* (e 7): *Ḥālu-Balīḥ*. The second element is identical with the initial one in *Ba-lí-ḫa*-AN Birot AB i 48. It is best combined with the name of the god Balīḫa for whom see A. Goetze, JCS 7 (1953) 61; E. Reiner, *Šurpu* (1958) p. 60 commenting on Tablet VIII 39; he is the personification of the river known to the Greeks as *Balikha* and to the Romans as *Belias*. The Arabic name *Balīḥ* is certainly transmitted through an Aramaic intermediary; for that reason Arab. *ḥ* (not *ḫ*) does not disprove the equation; cuneiform writing is incapable of expressing the distinction.

3. *'mmwt'* (e 13): *'Ammu-tā* still does not occur elsewhere as far as I know; a parallel is now provided by *'rt'* (E 38), i. e., *Ilu-tā*. Comparable formations are *Ab-du-ta* Alalaḫ 342 9 and *Be-la-ta*(?) Alalaḫ 143 7.

[1] K. Sethe, Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des Mittleren Reiches (APAW 1926, phil.-hist. Klasse No. 5), quoted by number after C. Among the literature cf. especially A. Alt, ÄZ 63 (1927) 39-45; W. F. Albright, JPOS 8 (1928) 223-56.—G. Posener, Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie (1940), quoted by number after E. Hereon esp. A. Alt, ZDPV 64 (1941) 21-39; W. F. Albright, BASOR 81 (1941) 16-21; 83 (1941) 30-6; M. Noth, ZDPV 65 (1942) 20-34.

[2] From Alalaḫ, Chagar Bazar, Mari, Ugarit and from the East Tigris region. For Alalaḫ see D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets (1953); for Chagar Bazar: C. J. Gadd, Iraq 7 (1940) 22-65; for Mari, in addition to ARM I-VII (VI and VII not yet indexed), the very important lists published by M. Birot in RA 47 (1953) 121-30, 161-74; 50 (1956) 15-31, 57-72 (quoted as AB and C) and in Syria 35 (1958) 9-26 (quoted as Femmes) for Ugarit the index in R. de Langhe, Les textes de Ras Shamra—Ugarit . . . II (1954) 254-315 serve well. East-Tigris material has been made available by R. Harris, JCS 9 (1955) 31-120; similar material will soon be presented, also in JCS, by S. Simmons. The old material is, of course, collected in Th. Bauer, Die Ostkanaanäer (1926) (quoted as Bauer). The Nippur lists published by E. Chiera, PBS IX 1-3 (1916-19) may also be consulted with profit (quoted as Chiera).

[3] G. Hoffmann, ZA 11 (1896) 253-7; W. F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel (1942) 81 f.

The element *ta* is particularly frequent in combination with following AN to be read *il, el*. In almost every case a parallel form without *ta* also exists:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (a) | *Ba-aḫ-la-ta*-AN ARM VII 180 i 9′ | *Ba-aḫ-la*-AN ARM VII 190 rev. 28 |
| | | *Ba-aḫ-li*-AN Bauer |
| (b) | *Ḫa-ia-ta*-AN ARM VII 213 16 | (*Ḫaya*-AN not found)<br>*Ḫa-ia-su-mu-ú* Birot AB iii 43 |
| (c) | *Ḫa-am-ma-ta*-AN ARM VII 181 rev. 14; Birot Femmes i 5 | *Ḫa-mu*-AN ARM VII 213 12 |
| | | *Ḫa-am-mu-dDa-gan* ARM VII 219 43 |
| (d) | *Ḫa-na-ta*-AN Birot AB i 13 | (*Ḫa-an-na*-AN not found)<br>*Ḫa-an-na-d*IM Birot Femmes iv 41<br>*Ḫa-an-na-dSIN* ARM VII 181 rev. 6 |
| (e) | *I-la-ta*-AN Birot AB ii 59 | *I-la*-AN Bauer<br>*I-la-Ištar* ARM VII 199 22′ |
| (f) | *Ma-na-ta*-AN Birot AB iv 58 | *Ma-ni-il* (*Mar.tu*) Oppenheim Eames Coll. I i 2 (Ur III) |
| (g) | *Si-ba-ta*-AN ARM VII 185 i 10′ (*Si-ba-ta-nu* Simmons) | *Si-ba*-AN ARM II 36 10 |
| (h) | *Su-mu-ta*-AN Birot AB (cf. *Su-mu-ti-ba-al* Birot AB iii 50). | *Su-mu*-AN Bauer, Chiera |
| | | *Su-mu-i-la* Chiera<br>*Su-mu-ḫa-mu* Mari |
| (i) | *Zi-ik-ra-ta*-AN Birot AB ii 16 | (*Zikra*-AN not found)<br>*Zi-ik-ri-d*IM Mari<br>*Zi-ik-ri-IŠTAR* Mari |
| (j) | *Zi-*[*im*]*-ra-ta*-AN Birot AB i 55 | *Zi-im-ra*-AN Mari<br>*Zi-im-ri*-AN Chiera<br>*Zi-im-ru-i-la* Mari<br>*Zi-im-ri-lu-ma* Simmons |

Examples not matched so far are *Ab-ka-ta*-AN Birot AB iv 45 (cf. *Ab-ka-nu-um* Simmons), *Ba-ra-ta*-AN ARM VII 213 20; *Tu-ḫa-ta*-AN ARM VII 232 2; *Ú-sa-ta*-AN ARM VII 180 v 24′; Birot AB i 61. Of a special nature is *Ba-al-ta*-AN ARM VII 198 iv 25,[4] for it can hardly be separated from *Ma-na-ba-al-te-el* (name of a king of Sippar) and *Ma-an-ni-ba-al-ti*-AN ARM II 1079, the meaning of which clearly is "who (can exist) without El?". In connection with Hebrew **baltē-* "without" this makes one think of a preposition.

Indeed, the element *ta* operates exactly like the clear preposition *la/li*. Compare with (b) above *A-ia-la-su-mu-ú* (Mari), with (e) AN-*la-il* (Ur III, Stud. Or. IX/1 21 rev. 10), with (h) *Su-mu-la-el* (king of Babel), *Su-mu-le-el* (Chiera). Furthermore:

[4] Cf. also *Ba-li-e-ra-aḫ* ARM VI 39; *Ba-li-a-ra-aḫ* Simmons; *Ba-lu-IŠTAR* ARM VII 226 53.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (k) | *Bu-nu-la-ma-šar* Chiera | *Bu-nu-ma-šar* Bauer<br>*Bu-ni*-AN Bauer<br>*Bu-nu-e-ra-aḫ* ARM VII 210 rev. 4; 219 44<br>*Bu-nu-IŠTAR* Mari; Chagar Bazar |
| (l) | *Iš-ki-le-el* BASOR 95 A 10 | *Iš-ki-la* nom. loci BA VI 5 99 (i. e. *Iški-ila*) cf. *Iš-ki*-AN K 241 (Johns, DD 2 345 ff.) V iii 11 (Assyrian) |
| (m) | *Ma-ru-le-el/Ma-lu-le-el* Simmons | See below under 4. |
| (n) | *Mi-il-ki-le-el* Bauer; Birot Femmes ii 9 | *Mi-il-ki*-AN Bauer<br>*Mi-il-ki-*$^{d}$IM ARM 207 5; Birot AB iii 54 |
| (o) | *Ni-iq-mi-la-na-si* Syria 20 (1939) 174 | *Ni-iq-ma*-AN Mari<br>*Ni-iq-mi-ia-ad-du* Mari<br>*Ni-iq-ma-a-du* Alalaḫ |
| (p) | *Sa-am-a-la*-AN Birot AB i 16<br>*Sa-am-ḫi-li-AN*[5] Birot Femmes iv 47 | *Sa-ma*-AN ARM VII 219 53<br>*Sa-mu-ú-i-la* ARM I 62 15′<br>*Sa-mu-*$^{d}$IM ARM VII 280 10; Birot, Femmes iv 44<br>*Sa-mu-e-ra-aḫ* Simmons |
| (q) | *Ṣi-id-qu-la-na-si* Mari | *Ṣi-id-qa*-AN ARM VII 210 23<br>*Ṣi-id-qa-*$^{d}$IM ARM VII 295 3′<br>*Ṣi-id-qi-e-pu-uḫ* ARM VI 39 |
| (r) | ZU-*ba-la*-AN ARM VII 198 rev. 28 | Cf. *La-ka*-ZU-*bu-um* ARM VII 201 11′ |

The conclusion to be drawn is that *ta/te* is likewise a preposition.

This, of course, requires that for the final element in *Be-la-ta*, *Ab-du-ta*, *'Ammu-ta*, *Ilu-ta* a more complicated structure must be posited. Here *-ta* should be for **-ta-hā* where the feminine suffix would refer to a goddess.

A suitable meaning seems "with." Indeed just as *Sumu-la-el* corresponds with *Sumu-ta-el* (above h) and *Ila-la-il* with *Ila-ta-el* (above e) one might expect a **Milki-ta-el* corresponding with *Milki-le-el* to turn up in the future. This would be Amurrite for the Akkadian *Milkī-itti-iliya* "my counsel is with my god" (CT VIII 37b 17; CT II 28 28), also *Itti-ilim-mil-ki* (CT II 26 24), *It-ti-i-lí-mil-ki* (BIN VII 8 25).

With abstracts like *ḫaya* "life," *ḫanna* "*grace*, favour," *man(n)a* the same; *zikra* "reputation," *zimra* "protection" the preposition makes very good sense: the mentioned things "lie with El." More difficult are concrete nouns in this position, in particular when they seem sometimes to mark a quality of the god (*ila* 'god," *baḫla* "lord"), and sometimes a quality of the bearer, of the *'abdu* "slave." Can one understand "(the quality of being a) god is inherent in El" on the one hand and "(the power of making man a) slave lies with El" on the other.

It may be added that Amurrite *ta/te* may throw new light on the second part of Hebrew **bal-tē* "without"[6] and of Assyrian *iš-te* "with."[7]

[5] Against Th. Bauer p. 62 it seems advisable to keep *Sumu* and *Sam'u* apart.

[6] Cf. L. Eitan, AJSL 44 (1928) 256 ff. Original meaning "not with."

[7] For the initial *iš* compare the preposition *iš* of the early Mari texts (I. J. Gelb, RA 50 4 f.).

The preposition with the suffix of the first person singular may be present in $^{d}$*Iš-ḫa-ra-sà-am-ra-ti* Birot Femmes iii 27.[8]

4. *m³³mwt* (e 15): *Maru-la-muti.* The reading of the initial part is provided by *Ma-ru-li-e-el* (variant *Ma-lu-le-el*), i. e. *Mar/lu-la-el*, occurring in Simmons' texts. For the analysis of the whole see above under No. 3.

5. *ḫktnw* (e 24). This is, as has long since been observed, an Amurrite name in *-ānu*. The body of the name is reminiscent of the deity *Ḫi-ki-ša* whose priests (*kumrū*) are mentioned in the Old Assyrian text Gol. 11 (= EL No. 188) 24. As far as I know, the deity is otherwise unknown.

6. *'bshddw* (E 6) *Ibiš-haddu.* For the first element compare [*I-b*]*í-iš*-NI-*il* (*Mar-tu*) BIN IX 408 8 and *I-bi-iš*-NI-*el* Simmons, furthermore *I-bi-iš-a-ra-aḫ* seal Delaporte, Louvre A 446 and *Ib-šu-ra-bi* AOTc 120 (Manchester Cuneiform Studies 4 p. 106) (Ur III).

7. *ynk''³w* (E 9): In RŠ 16.134 (PRU III pl. 44, p. 141 f.) we have a proper-name *En-ki-li* (g). This probably is for **Enki-ilu* < **Iankī-ilu*, **Ianki'-ilu*. The verb seems the representative of Arab. *nakā* " wound." [9]

8. *yrw³w* (E 13): *Iarū-lū.* The initial verbal element cannot be doubtful since it recurs in *y³m(w)t* (f 9) = *Iar(i)muta.* For the final element I refer to *Šu-ub-na-lu-ú* ARM VII 74 4 [10] and to *Da-du-um-lu-ú* Birot AB iii 34 where *lu-ú* is clearly for **la-hū* " to, for him."

9. *³w³hdd'* (E 21): *Lawi-la-hadda.* The identity with *La*-WA-*la-*$^{d}$IM etc., has correctly been established by W. L. Moran, Orient. 26 (1957) 342; only the analysis of the name still remains in doubt. In addition to the correspondence between cases with *la* and without *la* as given above under No. 3 we also have to direct our attention to the initial *la*. I should like to point out the following pairs:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ia-wi*-AN ARM VII 227 8' | *La-wi*-AN ARM VI 78 18 |
| *Ia-wi-i-la* ARM II 66 10, 15 | |
| *Ia-wi-*$^{d}$*D*[*a-gan*] ARM VII 200 14 | |
| *Ia-wi-ši-bu* ARM VII 180 iii 20 [11] | |
| *I-wi-mu-ti* (*Mar.tu*) (Ur III) Or. Inst. A5508 (MAD III 2) | |
| *I-wi-di-il* Chagar Bazar | |
| *E-wi-ma-lik* Alalaḫ | |
| *Ia-aḫ-wi-el* Lutz, Kish 2 24 | *La-aḫ-wi-ma-li-ku* ARM VII 61 2 |
| *Ia-aḫ-wi-na-si* ARM VII 200 8 | *La-aḫ-wi-ba-lu* Chagar Bazar |
| *Ia,-aḫ-wi*-AN ARM VII 215 5 | *La-aḫ*[*-wi*]*-a-du* Alalaḫ |
| | *E-ki-la-aḫ-wi* ARM VII 185 ii 3 |

[8] The absolute state of the 3rd sing. fem. ends in *-a* (e. g., *Ummi-ṭāba* i 31), hence the *-ti* must be an additional element. The corresponding masc. is *samar* (*Ba-aḫ-li-sa-mar*, *Ḫa-mu-sa-mar* Chagar Bazar; *Ia-nu-uḫ-sa-mar* ARM V 43 15; *I-nu-úḫ-sa-mar* BIN VII 7 4, 9).

[9] Cf. Hebr. *nkh* and R. Dussaud, Syria 21 (1940) 172.

[10] Compare *A-šu-ub-la*-AN Chagar Bazar; *A-šu-ub-li-el* OIP 43 p. 154 seal legend No. 48.

*Ia-ri-im-*$^{d}$IM Mari
*Ia-ri-im-li-im* Mari, Alalaḫ

*Ia-ḫu-un-*AN[ X ] ARM VII 211 4
*Ia-ḫu-um-pi-el* Simmons

*Iš-ni-*$^{d}$IM Alalaḫ

*Ia-du-ur-*AN ARM VII 180 ii 16′

*Ia-du-ur-na-si* Birot Femmes ii 17

*La-ri-im-ba-aḫ-li* ARM VII 233 5′, 10′; 236 8.
*La-ri-im-nu-ma-ḫa-a*[12] ARM V 21 6, 11.
*Ka-bi-la-ri-im* Chagar Bazar

*La-ḫu-un-*$^{d}$*Da-gan* ARM II 53 7

*La-aš-ni-*AN ARM VII 180 V 15

*La-dur-ḫa?-am-mi* (Ḫana) MAOG 4 p. 1 l. 6

One can hardly err in assuming that in the left column we deal with *yaf'al* forms and that in the right column a prefix *la-* has been added to these forms, *la-ya-* yielding *la-* (probably with a long *a*).

In the light of the facts assembled above under No. 3 it seems safe to assume that *lāwī* is also contained in

*La-wi-la-*AN ARM VII 112 8; 219 obv. 11′, rev. 52
*La-wi-la-*$^{d}$IM ARM II 135 12; VI 51 f.; VII 208 2; Chagar Bazar
*La-wi-la-*$^{d}$*Da-*[*gan*] ARM VII 280 17

and then also in

*La-ú-la-a-da* Alalaḫ

The second *la* is, I assume, the preposition which after verbal forms occurs, e. g., with *š-b* " turn " (see under No. 7 above) and in the name of a man from Ḫarrān *Ia-ar-sa-ab/p-la-*AN ARM VII 208 6; *Ia-ar-sa-ab/p-la-il* ARM VII 176 3; *Ia-ar-sa-ab/p-la-i*⟨*-la*⟩ ARM VII 219 45.

10. *'rt'* (E 38): *Ilu-tā*. See above under No. 3.

11. *yṯ'rkn'* (E 40): *Yas'ar-kuna*. The first, verbal, element I have not encountered anywhere so far; compare however the Hebrew *s'r* " storm (wind)." As to *kuna*, we have it in *Ku-na-na-tum* Birot C vi 14 and already in *Ku-na-ma-tum* (*Mar.tu*) Nikolski 449 (Ur III). Cf. *Ku-un-am-mu* RŠ 16, 257 (PRU III pl. 80 ff., p. 199 ff.) iii 42.

12. *'mw'ʾwbw* (E 41): *'Ammū-lubu*. The first element—perhaps still to be read *'Ammu-hū*—contains the possessive suffix " his." In cuneiform writing in such cases *Ḫa-am-mu-ú*[13] would be spelled. For this and analogous combinations see, e. g.,

*A-a-ḫa-am-mu-ú* BASOR 95 No. B 8
*A-lí-am-mu-ú* Lutz, Ashjaly: 58 11
*Ia-ḫa-ad-ḫa-mu-ú* Birot AB ii 64
*Za-ki-ra-ḫa-am-mu-ú* ARM II 79 ff.; VII 215 7
*Ḫa-ia-su-mu-ú* Birot AB iii 43
*Ḫa-lí-su-mu-ú* ARM II 62 etc., VII 104 iii 9
*Ṭa-ab-su-mu-ú* ARM VII 231 7
*Ia-si-im-su-mu-ú* ARM VII 98 5, 7; 190 17; 218 5

[11] Cf. $^{d}$*Ši-bu-um-ḫa-zi-ir* CUA 72 (JCS 11, 1957, 24 ff.) rev. 3′; *Ši-bu-na-a-ra-am* Birot AB ii 12.

[12] Compare *Su-mu-nu-um-ḫi-im*, Reall. der Ass. II 194; Th. Jacobsen, OIP 43 (1940) 124; R. Harris, JCS 9 (1955) 49; D. O. Edzard, Die zweite Zwischenzeit (1957) 127 f. *Numḫum* is a country (and its god); see Th. Jacobsen, l. c. 198; D. O. Edzard, l. c. 106.

[13] This explains the examples with final *-ú* and no mimation which puzzled M. Noth (Festschrift Alt, 1953, 132 f.).

*Ma-lik-su-mu-ú* ARM VII 220 4
*I-la-ba-lu-ú Birot* AB i 5
*I-la-ḫa-at-nu-ú* Chagar Bazar; Birot AB i 7
*Li-ia-si-it-ru-ú* Birot AB V 24 [14]
*Ra-ba-si-it-ru-ú* Birot AB vi 22
*Ḫa-am-mi-ta-lu-ú* ARM VI 15 19
*I-la-ap-ta-lu-ú* Birot AB iii 55

The second element recurs in *Lu-bu-e-el* BIN IX 316 iii 49; *Lu-bu*-AN BIN IX 408 16, both names of Amurrites mentioned on tablets of the early Isin dynasty. It is possible that *Lu-mu* in *A-ḫu-lu-mu* Birot Femmes ii 19 and *Ḫa-du-un-lu-mu* ARM I 39 8; *Ḫa-du-lu-mu* ARM II 10 6′ is only a variant (pronunciation *Luwu*?).

The assumption that Palestine in the 20th and 19th century B. C. was ruled by Amurrite princes is further corroborated by these observations.

## A CURIOUS QUMRAN TRADITION

Towards the end of the Qumran text known as "The Oration of Moses" [1] occurs the statement, in reference to the Day of Atonement, that "your [fathers] were wandering [ ] until the tenth day of the [seventh] month." The source of this tradition does not appear to have been traced. It may therefore be worth pointing out that, according to al-Bīrūnī, p. 328 (ed. Sachau), the Jews kept the tenth day of Muḥarram ('Ashūrah) holy because "on that day God drowned Pharaoh." Moreover, this tradition obtains also among the Mandaeans.[2] May it not be to this, rather than to the termination of their forty-year sojourn in the wilderness, that the Qumran text was really referring?

THEODOR H. GASTER

## UR EXCAVATIONS: THE ROYAL CEMETERY
## SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

We receive from the British Museum an announcement of a special sale of the two magnificent volumes of Sir Leonard Woolley's publication of the Royal Tombs of Ur, now generally dated about the 25th century B. C. All libraries and many individual scholars who do not already possess these volumes will want to take advantage of the offer.

*The Royal Cemetery.* (*Ur Excavations*, Vol. II) by C. L. Woolley. 2 vols, 604 pp., 274 plates (27 in colour), 81 Text figs. and 1 map. Published jointly by the British Museum and Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 1934. $8.50 (post free) from the British Museum.

[14] *li-ia* clearly means "for me"; note furthermore *La-ka-ZU-b/pu-um* ARM VII 201 11′ ("for you"); *La-na-dDa-gan* ARM VII 225 2 ("for us").

[1] D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, I (Oxford 1955), No. 22 ("Les dires de Moïse"); T. H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation* (New York 1956), p. 235.

[2] (Lady) E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* (Oxford 1937), p. 89.

These large volumes provide a detailed description of discoveries in the Royal Tombs and later private graves at Ur. Jewellery, musical instruments, metal, stone and woodwork and pottery are listed in detail. In an appendix, Sir Arthur Keith reports on the human remains.

W. F. A.

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## SOME RECENTLY RECEIVED BOOKS

### Literature on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Matters

*Facile princeps* among books issued during the past three years is the publication of *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judah*, by **Nahman Avigad** and **Yigael Yadin** (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1956, quarto, 48 + 47 pp. + 8 plates). This admirable volume contains the so-called "Fourth Scroll" of the lot purchased by the Syrian Metropolitan and bought from him by the Government of Israel. This was first taken to be the lost Apocalypse of Lamech because it began with a section obviously derived from this or a similar source. This volume cannot be studied without the splendid papers by **E. Y. Kutscher** and **N. Avigad** in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (= *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, IV, Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1958, vii + 282 pp. [in English]), edited by **Chaim Rabin** and **Yigael Yadin.** The first of ten valuable studies included in the volume is an admirable survey of the Aramaic of the Genesis Targum by **Kutscher**, who dates it in the last century B. C. (or possibly the early first A. D.); the third study is **Avigad's** "The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents," with which the reviewer agrees without any present reservations. These two papers are models of their genre. The remaining papers in this volume, as well as similar papers (largely by the same scholars) in the collection entitled *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by **Jacob Liver** (*'Iyyûnîm bimgillôt Midbar Yehûdâh*, Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1957, 122 pp.) are all indispensable for documentation in this most recent and important of disciplines.

Several very good popular books have been published by scholars who have themselves taken part in the decipherment of these documents. In 1956 **J. M. Allegro** published a very readable Pelican, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Press, 208 pp. + 42 cuts), based on his own participation in the "Scroll team." This was followed in 1957 by **Yigael Yadin's** excellent book, *Ham-megillôt hag-genûzôt mim-Midbar Yehûdâh* (Jerusalem: Schocken, 220 pp.), with its translation, *The Message of the Scrolls* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957, 192 pp.), based on his own distinguished role and personal knowledge of his father's part in the story. In 1958 appeared two very good American books: **Millar Burrows'** *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, xiii + 434 pp., $6.50) and *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* by **Frank Moore Cross, Jr.** (New York: Doubleday, xix + 196 pp., 4.50). **Burrows** gives a characteristically judicious and accurate account of the progress of discovery and research since the appearance of his first volume in 1955. **Cross** offers a brilliant analysis of the present state of our knowledge on the basis of his own unsurpassed knowledge of the contents of Cave IV. The two volumes are complementary, since **Burrows** offers an excellent summary of opinion, which **Cross** is forced to omit in order to present the material itself. From the former volume few would grasp the completeness of the revolution in biblical scholarship which is being produced by the Dea Sea Scrolls, while the latter opens up whole new worlds of historical and theological scholarship. Much briefer, but also based on full knowledge of the material, both published and unpublished, is **J. T. Milik's** *Dix ans de découvertes dans le Desert de Juda* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1957), with a more recent English translation (which I cannot locate as I write these lines).

A great many other popular books have appeared in various languages; I select the following from a larger number received. **Theodor H. Gaster's** *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation* (New York, Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956, $0.95) contains a useful brief introduction and a free (but often brilliantly worded) translation. **Géza Vermès's** French book has been translated into English as *Discovery in the Judean Desert* (New York: Desclée, 1956, $5.00); it is a competent

introduction to the subject, but is already a little dated by the rapid progress of discovery. The same may be said of **F. F. Bruce's** useful book, *Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956, $2.50), which contains an excellent critique of the more extreme views of **Dupont-Sommer** and **Allegro.** Much briefer and more popular are the good little books by **R. B. Y. Scott,** *Treasure from Judaean Caves* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1955), **Roland E. Murphy,** *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1956), **Arvid S. Kapelrud,** *Dødehavs-rullene* (Oslo: University Press, 1956). These were followed by two competent books from a very conservative point of view: **William Sanford LaSor,** *Amazing Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Faith* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1956), and **Merrill F. Unger,** *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Amazing Archaeological Discoveries* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1957). Both are much better than the titles devised for them by sensation-loving publishers might suggest; neither belongs to the category of science fiction.

Turning to scholarly publication in this field, there are two valuable independent studies of the *Hôdāyôt*, both issued in 1957: **A. Dupont-Sommer,** *Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la Mer Morte* (= *Semitica* VII, Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 120 pp.); **Jacob Licht,** *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957, xv + 255 pp., in Hebrew). We have an excellent analysis of the concept of "way" and "ways" by **Friedrich Nötscher** in his *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran* (= *Bonner Biblische Beiträge*, No. 15, Bonn: Hanstein, 1958, 133 large 8vo pages), along the lines marked out by his previous volume (BULLETIN, No. 142, p. 34); the author ably analyzes relevant concepts and ideas in the Old Testament, Qumran Scrolls, and the New Testament, showing how the Dead Sea Scrolls link the Hebrew Bible with the literature of apostolic Christianity. Drawing on the ancient Orient and on intertestamental writings, he presents one of the first and best monographic treatments of this kind. (A very valuable monograph of similar type on *The Semitic Origin of the Pauline Mystērion*, by **Raymond E. Brown, S. S.,** was presented several months ago as a Johns Hopkins dissertation and is now appearing in serial form.) **Krister Stendahl** has performed a very useful service by assembling a fine anthology of the best papers in the field of its title, *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (New York: Harper, 1957, xi + 308 pp., $4.00). The papers come from different countries and confessions; all appear here in English. The author cannot be too highly commended for the excellence of his selections, which give a good idea of a new field which is expanding with almost unbelievable rapidity. New Testament studies are in the process of being completely revolutionized, with the accent on historical continuity as well as on early dating and recognition of the integrity of early Christian tradition.—Three years previously **Stendahl** had published a highly original monograph on *The School of St. Matthew* (= *Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis*, XX, Uppsala, 1954, 249 pp.), in which he pointed out striking similarities between the treatment of scriptural quotations in the Habakkuk Scroll and the Gospel of Matthew.

### The Gnostic Codices from Chenoboskion

Owing to a combination of unfortunate circumstances, the publication of the priceless early Gnostic codices found about twelve years ago in Upper Egypt has made exceedingly little progress hitherto. The original discoverer of their content, **M. Jean Doresse,** has now issued the first of several volumes in which he plans to present the results of his studies, based on his own copious unpublished notes as well as on the two volumes of Gnostic codices from this find which have already been published—not to forget other previously known Gnostic books in Coptic. His first book is entitled: *Les livres secrets des Gnostiques d'Egypte* (Paris: Plon, 1958, viii + 374 pp.); it is a masterly survey, full of surprises for the historian of religion. There can no longer be any doubt that **Gilles Quispel** is right in following early Christian tradition, which traced the beginnings of Gnosticism to Christian defectors (backsliders) of the Apostolic Age. The amount of Iranian material in some of this very early Gnosis is much greater and more important than hitherto realized. However, the ideas of Reitzenstein and Bultmann are not supported; there is nothing in the least "Gnostic" about the simple dualism of Qumran and the Johannine literature, as **K. G. Kuhn** was the first to recognize, and the Iranian elements in the earliest Gnosticism are much more elaborate and sharply defined than the Iranian background of the Qumran dualism.

W. F. Albright

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